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Les Sources de Lucain. Par RENÉ PICHON, Docteur ès lettres, Professeur de Première Supérieure au Lycée Henri IV, Maître de conférences à l'École Normale Supérieure de Sèvres. Pp. IV + 279. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1912.

Mr. Heitland, fresh from the mediocrity of Lucan, ventures to preface his introduction to Haskins' copious English edition of the *Pharsalia* with the remorseful admission "that this kind of work brings neither money nor repute". M. Pichon, with repute established, brings to his larger task, erudition, the command of scholarly method, and a frank love for his author that could be possibly only Gallic. Je voudrais, runs the *avant-propos*, que mon travail aidât à mieux comprendre un poète que j'ai toujours aimé, et que j'aime encore mieux depuis que je l'ai plus patiemment étudié, and in this lies seemingly the secret to the peculiar distinction of the work. The subjects of inquiry are Les sources historiques, Les sources philosophiques, and Les sources littéraires, with an appended excursus upon the composition of the *Pharsalia*. Separate chapters upon 'the accessory facts', the account of the Civil War', and 'the alterations of history' fittingly elaborate the discussion of the historical sources.

M. Pichon is not concerned here merely with a theory of sources, but reveals at once his alertness for defence of Lucan and the characteristic resourcefulness of his imagination. From the *Commentum Bernense* down, Lucan's statement concerning the status of the Arverni (I, 426-27) has been considered a blundering version of a report correctly associated by Tacitus (Ann. XI, 25) with the Aedui. But after pointing out the basis of the claim accredited to the Arverni (sanguine ab Iliaco), and the recognized pretension of it (ausi fingere), with a ready surmise for the motive of the pretension (voulant gagner la bienveillance des vainqueurs, et rivaliser en cela avec leurs vieux adversaires les Eduens, les Arvernes ont imaginé une fable qui les faisait descendre de Troie), and the plausible conjecture of a literary source (Livy), M. Pichon gains courage for faith in Lucan; who, he explains, merely states that there were pretenders to the distinction which Tacitus records was granted only to the Aedui (p. 32).

In II, 418-20 Lucan is not ignorant of the existence of tributaries to the Po, mais il dit tout simplement que le Pô n'a pas d'affluents aussi considérables que ceux du Danube (p. 8). The absurdity of placing Mt. Eryx on the Aegean Sea (II. 665-66) is cleverly shifted to a copyist who, one may believe, spoiled a compliment to the Aegatian islands by turning *maris Aegati* into *maris Aegaei* (p. 9). So by denial, justification, or the doctrine of 'more sinned against than sinning', or simple faith, Lucan is

delivered from his sins. In the case of many incidental allusions which belong merely to the commonplace erudition of a man of culture, the question of sources becomes negligible. The detailed knowledge, however, revealed in the lengthy digressions upon Gaul, Africa, and Egypt suggests specific sources of information. For the description of Gaul this was Livy. The episode of the serpents (IX, 700-949) was drawn directly from Macer, probably, however, not wholly from the *Theriaca*, who in turn had copied Nicander. Seneca was the authority for Egypt, but rather in his *De Situ et Sacris Aegyptiorum* than in the *Naturales Quaestiones* as imagined by Diels.

The inquiry into *Le récit de la guerre civile* attains to special interest by reason of its scope and methods. Material support is given to Reifferscheid's theory, worked out by his pupil Baier, that Livy, the "pompeien", was the only serious source for Lucan's narrative. This opinion is reached by a process of elimination of other authors and defended by able refutation of the objections of its chief opponents, Westerburg and Ussani, who have maintained that the harmony between Lucan and the other supposed *auctores Liviani* points rather to the dependence of these upon Lucan than to a conjectural common source for all. This claim forces a critical examination into the nature of Lucan's relation to Florus, Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, Appian, Cassius Dio, and Orosius, and criticism of Ussani's 'decentralization theory', by which the *Pharsalia* becomes a *contaminatio* of various authors, extends the consideration to Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Pollio, Caesar, and Cicero. In the end, tout porte à croire que Lucain n'a eu qu'une source unique, et que cette source est Tite-Live.

Under *Les altérations de l'histoire* enters again, but more formally, the case of Lucan versus his critics, with M. Pichon ably but cautiously *advocatus diaboli*. Though the case of Livy be settled, even more perplexing is the problem of estimating the peculiar quality of Lucan's relation to one not merely gone before—but lost. The attempt to discover his attitude toward historical truth by an analysis of his methods in utilizing a source—dans la mesure où ce modèle peut être restitué par conjecture—becomes merely an interesting study in probabilities and the psychology of poetic license. Il n'a pas été un pur historien, mais il a aimé l'histoire, il l'a comprise, et le plus souvent il l'a respectée. He gives le récit de Tite-Live, embelli, mais non déformé, par la splendeur de la poésie.

The particular brand of Lucan's philosophy has been hard to identify. Mr. Heitland by a laborious application of Zeller makes him out both Stoic and Epicurean. M. Lejay baffled by the possibilities concludes in desperate irony that he is merely "un homme de lettres". To M. Pichon he seems a consistent exponent of the eclectic Stoicism of Seneca.

Consideration of the resemblances between the *Pharsalia* and

the tragedies attributed to Seneca, with the incidental purpose of extending the evidence for their authorship, and an examination of Hosius' evidence for the influence of Manilius and Quintus Curtius, with negative conclusions, give to the chapter on Les sources littéraires its special value.

As *errata* I note *seconde* for *première* in *la seconde supposition*, p. 40, *leur* for *leurs* in *leur epoux*, p. 2, *ausi* for *aussi*, p. 12, the omission of a period before *en outre*, p. 32, and an incorrect form of the reference to Lucan I, 217, p. 113. In the *table des matières*, p. 273, § 4, CXIII should be, apparently, CIII.

M. Pichon has brought to Lucan a timely rescue from his "friends, the enemy". The impression, however, lingers that by ingenious and plausible hypotheses he has been too much his champion. Yet to characterize his evidently judicial charity as a bias of interest would be invidious and misrepresent the value of a study remarkable for critical acumen and scholarly restraint. In its wealth of matter, interpretative and controversial, it becomes an indispensable and unrivalled guide to a true insight into the poet's mind and methods.

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